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THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE UNDEREMPLOYED, A STUDY OF APPLICANTS FOR LABORER JOBS.

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IN NOVEMBER 1965 THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION ANNOUNCED AN EXAMINATION FOR MANUAL LABORERS. THE UNITED PLANNING ORGANIZATION ATTEMPTED TO RECRUIT AND ASSIST INDIVIDUALS FROM THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA'S POOL OF "HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED". A SAMPLE OF 189 OF THE 966 MALE APPLICANTS WAS INTERVIEWED BY 20 INTERVIEWERS WHO SOUGHT INFORMATION ON THE RESPONDENT'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION, ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION FOR WORK, JOB-SEEKING BEHAVIOR, FAMILY BACKGROUND, PERCEPTIONS OF IMPEDIMENTS TO WORK, EDUCATION AND TRAINING, KNOWLEDGE AND PARTICIPATION IN THE VARIOUS ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAMS, ETC. FINDINGS INCLUDED -- (1) ALL WERE NEGRO MEN, (2) 50 PERCENT WERE UNDER 26 YEARS OF AGE, (3) THE MEDIAN NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED WAS 10.7 COMPARED TO 9.4 YEARS FOR THE NONWHITE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA MALES, (4) MOST FREQUENT REASONS GIVEN FOR NOT GETTING A JOB WERE LACK OF EDUCATION AND EXPERIENCE, (5) THE GROUP COULD NOT BE CLASSIFIED AS "HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED" BUT RATHER "UNDER-EMPLOYED," (6) WHILE THE PERSONAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND FAMILY BACKGROUND WERE HIGHER THAN EXPECTED, THEY WERE SOMEWHAT BELOW THAT OF THEIR FATHERS, SUGGESTING SOME DOWNWARD SOCIAL MOBILITY, AND (7) THE GROUP HAD NOT TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES PRESUMABLY AVAILABLE TO THEM THROUGH VARIOUS TRAINING PROGRAMS. (FS)

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THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE UNDEREMPLOYED: A STUDY OF APPLICANTS FOR LABORER JOBS

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I. INTRODUCTION

Background

In November, 1965 the United States Civil Service Commission announced an examination for Manual Laborers. The period for filing applications was twenty days, from November 10, 1965 to November 30, 1965. During that time the United Planning Organization (UPO) mounted an extensive publicity compaign to acquaint individuals in the areas they serviced with the fact that such an examination was open, and then to assist applicants if necessary to complete the lengthy application form. The United Planning Organization attempted to recruit individuals from the District of Columbia's pool of "hard-core unemployed." Men were recruited from street corners and bars; from jail (these were men enrolled in a UPO training program); from St. Elizabeth's Hospital--men who had been out of the labor market for some time because of illness, but who were presumed to be able to work. In addition to these classes the announcement drew applicants from among persons who were working steadily but who apparently wanted to work for the Federal Government.

At the request of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), the Bureau of Social Science Research undertook to study these applicants, for it was believed that valuable information could be derived from this segment of the population--the presumed "hard-core unemployed"--which could be useful in planning programs for them.

The study went through two phases: a statistical analysis of the material contained in the application forms, and secondly an analysis of data derived from interviews with a sample of respondents drawn from this population of applicants. The first phase was completed in August 1966.[1] This report is concerned with the second phase, the material derived from the interview data.

Objectives

The Interviews sought to obtain information (beyond that contained in the application forms) which could shed light on some of the impediments to employability. The interview focussed in more detail than did the application form on the personal characteristics of the applicant. It was designed to secure information on the respondent's labor force participation, his attitudes and motivation for work, his job seeking behavior, his family background, his perceptions of impediments to work, his education and training, his knowledge and participation in the various antipoverty programs, etc.

Methods

Sample selection--Since women constituted only 2 per cent of the total they were not included in the eventual sample. Application forms (Forms 57) were submitted by 966 male applicants. Some of these forms were greatly incomplete or contained inaccuracies. The usable application forms led to the selection of a sample of 239 interview candidates. In view of the nature of the study group and the serious time lag between the date of last known address and probable time of

[1]Preliminary Report on the Characteristics of a Group of Applicants for Labor Jobs in Washington, BSSR, August, 1966.

interview, it was anticipated that many persons in this initial sample would be beyond reach or unavailable for interview. Therefore, a substitute sample of equal size and similar characteristics was chosen at the same time. The selection technique is described in some detail in a separate memorandum submitted to OEO.[1] That the fear of high sample losses was amply justified is seen from the fact that despite major effort only 189 interviews could be completed within the allotted time period.

Interviewing procedures and analysis of data.--The respondents were interviewed by twenty interviewers, nineteen men and one woman, except for one white person (who interviewed one respondent under unusual circumstances) all interviewers were Negroes.

About half of the interviewers had had prior survey interviewing experience, but to standardize procedures, all interviewers were given about eight hours of formal instruction in the principles and techniques of interviewing and six hours of practice interviewing before they were given assignments.

The interviewers were given names and addresses, and available telephone numbers. It was necessary to locate the respondent and then either interview him immediately or set up an appointment to see him later. As many as five call backs were frequently needed. The interviewers introduced themselves as employees of the Bureau of Social Science Research engaged in a follow-up study of men who completed applications for jobs as manual laborers. When the interviewer was able

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[1] "Plans for the Selection of a Sample of Men to be Interviewed as Part of a Study of Applicants for Work as Manual Laborers," BSSR, July, 1966.

to make direct personal contact with the respondent, respondents were most cooperative and willing to be interviewed; there were only seven outright refusals. At the conclusion of the interview the respondents were offered $1.50 for their time, which they could accept or reject.

Locating and contacting respondents proved difficult. Only 189 out of 446 respondents available for interview were in fact contacted and interviewed, a response rate of only 42 per cent. Table 1 indicates the reasons for noninterviews.

TABLE 1

REASONS FOR NONINTERVIEWS
(In Percentages)

Reasons	Per Cent
Respondent moved, left no address	36
Respondent not at home, despite 5 tries	34
No such address, not known at address	16
Respondent unavailable--jail, service, hospital, out of town	15
Address is only mail drop	5
Refused	3
Deceased	1
Total	100 (N=257)

What is striking is the mobility of this group, with a third of the nonrespondents moving within a period of less than a year. What is also interesting to note is that the people so often move without telling anyone their new address. Frequently adding to the problem of locating some of these persons was the existence of some suspiciousness directed toward the interviewers by neighbors and relatives. They were frequently reluctant to tell the interviewers where the former residents might have moved even if they knew how to locate them. This suspicion was also noticeable in those instances where the respondent gave an address of a relative, or used the address as a mail drop. It is also clear that some of the men who completed the application form gave incorrect or fictitious addresses.

With a response of only 42 per cent grave questions arise as to the adequacy of the sample. Do the respondents differ to any marked degree from the nonrespondents? Fortunately, data were available from the Form 57's to make comparisons between the two groups to establish in what way, if any, they differed. Table 2 shows some comparative data from the Form 57's on a number of selected items.

Surprisingly, only little differences are noted between the respondents and the nonrespondents. The respondents are slightly younger, and more of them were born in the Washington area. Because they are somewhat younger, being in school tends to account for a higher percentage of time out of the labor force than is true of the nonrespondents. On the other hand, more of the nonrespondents give "jail" as a reason for being out of the labor force than do the respondents. But even these differences are minor. It should be remembered, however, that these

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS AND NONRESPONDENTS
(In Percentages)

Characteristic	Respondents (N=189)	Nonrespondents[a] (N=289)
Marital Status:		
Married	40	42
Birthplace:		
Washington area	61	52
South	32	42
Other	6	6
Age:		
25 and under	55	51
26 to 45	35	40
46 and over	10	9
Education:		
8th grade or less	22	22
Some high school	58	58
High school graduate	19	18
Police Contacts Since Age 16:		
None	34	32
1	32	27
2-6	30	36
"A record", no details	4	4
Average of Unemployment Periods:		
Less than six months	24	27
Six months or more	38	35
Not applicable (never unemployed)	34	32
No information	4	6
Main Reason for being Out of Labor Force, January 1960 to November 1965:		
Jail	13	20
Military service	4	5
School	28	20
Sickness	4	1
Not applicable	40	45
No information	11	9
Longest Continuous Work:		
Less than six months	16	17
6 to 11 months	19	17
12 to 24 months	17	14
25 to 59 months	18	19
More than 5 years	21	24
In labor force less than 1 year	6	5

[a]Includes 32 cases where no attempt was made to contact respondents.

comparisons are based upon data obtained in November 1965, and that during the ensuing eight or nine months, the pattern of life of the respondents and the nonrespondents may have become different.

In comparing the respondents with the total population of men who completed Form 57 on these same items, one finds no significant differences. Thus, one approaches the analysis of interview data with some assurance that there is no indication of obvious bias effecting the study sample.

After the interviews were completed, they were edited and coded. IBM cards were prepared for each interview and standard computer techniques used to obtain frequency totals and cross-tabulations for selected items. Because of the relatively small number of cases involved, our data cannot be interpreted as definitive findings; caution is especially indicated when viewing intergroup comparisons.

II. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

Who are the respondents? What are some of the general background and personal characteristics of them? First, they are all Negro men. They constitute a rather young group with 50 per cent being under 26 years of age, although they range from under sixteen to over 56 years of age. Over three fifths of the group (62%) are native to the Washington area, while most of the remainder (30%) come from the Southern states. But the nonnatives are not newcomers to the Washington area; more than half of them have lived in the area for at least fifteen years, so that we are dealing with a group that, on the whole, is well-entrenched in the area. In addition, the group appears to be residentially stable, at least as far as continuous residence in their present neighborhood is concerned. The median number of years lived in the present neighborhood is 5.6; one sixth of the respondents lived in their present neighborhood less than a year, one third for more than ten years, one fifth for over fifteen.[1]

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[1]On the basis of these figures it appears that the respondents differ from the nonrespondents in being less mobile, since one third of the nonrespondents could not be found because they had moved within less than a year, and only one sixth of the respondents had been in their present neighborhood for less than a year. It is possible, however, that if the nonrespondents had been found, their new addresses might still have been in the same general neighborhood. We were interested in how long a respondent lived in the same neighborhood, rather than how long he lived at a particular address, so we have data for respondents only on neighborhood residential mobility and not on address mobility.

But while many respondents remain in the same neighborhood, they participate very little in any kind of neighborhood activity. Only one fifth of them had done so during the month before the interview. Church activity is the most common form of participation; a few also took part in athletic events, boys club activities, block dances, and neighborhood clean-up activities.

Educationally, the respondents are essentially a high school dropout group, with 57 per cent having had some high school, whereas less than one fifth completed high school. Somewhat surprising was the fact that in this respondent group (of presumed hard core unemployed) seven had had some college education. But is the amount of education related to age? One might suspect that education is inversely related to age, that is, the younger the person the more educated because over the years greater emphasis has been put upon the need for more education of the young to fit into the modern world. Table 3 shows this relationship.

TABLE 3

EDUCATION BY AGE
(In Percentages)

Education	Age				Total (N=189)
	Under 21 (N=50)	21 to 25 (N=47)	26 to 35 (N=41)	36 and Over (N=51)	
Eighth grade or less	12	21	15	31	20
Some high school	80	58	54	37	57
High school graduate	8	21	31	32	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100

In general, this relationship appears to hold for those who have had an eighth grade education or less; their proportion in the respective age groups rises from 12 per cent in the youngest age stratum to 31 per cent among those 36 years old or older. On the other hand, the proportion of high school dropouts descends (and relative number of high school graduates rises) with increasing age. Thus the simple statement, at the beginning of this section, positing a linear negative correlation between age and education must be revised in the light of the findings shown in Table 3.

Since so many respondents are either natives to Washington, or have lived here for a long time, it is not surprising to find that three-fourths of those who attended high school did so in Washington, D. C. Sixteen per cent went to high school in the South, and seven per cent in other areas of the United States. Three fourths of the group attended a general high school, with little vocational training.

In the light of the 1960 Census data on the educational attainment of nonwhite males in the District of Columbia, our respondents (26 years old or older) appear to be a well educated group (see Table 4). The median number of school years completed is 10.7 for the respondents as compared to 9.4 years for the nonwhite District of Columbia males.

From a formal educational point of view then these respondents do not show the degree of educational deficit one would expect to find in a group labelled "hard core unemployed," although three fourths of the group may have been handicapped by not having completed high school.

Given their limitations of formal education did the interviewers take any steps to acquire additional training or education? The overall answer is No. They were asked specifically whether they were aware of the

TABLE 4

YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED BY RESPONDENTS 26 YEARS OR OLDER AND BY NONWHITE MALES 25 YEARS OR OLDER IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
(In Percentages)

Years of Schooling	Respondents (N=92)	Nonwhite D. C. Males[a] (N=114,000)
Eighth grade or less	25	47
Some high school	45	22
High school graduate	25	16
Some college	5	15
Total	100	100

[a]Source: U. S., Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, District of Columbia. Final Report PC9LO-10C, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1962, pp. 10-32.

work training programs sponsored by the Department of Labor. Only about a fourth knew about such programs! Those in the age group 26-35 were most knowledgeable about the program, followed by the under 26 group and then the over 35 year stratum. But of those who knew about the programs only 18 persons applied, nine were accepted and only two completed a program. Hence these programs were not an additional source of training for this group.

The Job Corps Training Program fared little better. In this case, about 50 per cent did know about the program. As one might expect those who would be most affected by the program, men under 26 years of age, tended to be more frequently informed about it. Nearly two thirds of

this group knew of the program, as compared to one third among the older men. Ten respondents were accepted; two started; none completed the course.

Less well known was the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, designed to give eligible participants an opportunity to work and, through work, a training experience. A little more than a third of all the respondents had heard about this program. While the program was designed only for those between the ages of 16 and 21, all the respondents were asked about it, because their answers could provide some indication of the extent to which the availability of such programs was disseminated to the public, especially to those social groups to whom the programs are relevant. It was expected, of course, that the age group for whom the program was specifically designed would be more knowledgeable about it than other groups. We found that 56 per cent of this group knew about the program, as compared to only 30 per cent of the rest of the respondents. However, only 7 respondents had worked or were working in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, so that this, too, was an insignificant source of additional training.

Other training was received by 64 men, about one third of all respondents. Table 5 shows where this training was acquired. Only a third of these interviewers stated that such training had been useful to them in finding work. It is interesting to note that while about a third (57) of all the respondents served in the military forces, only about a third (17) of them indicated they had acquired any skills there. These were pretty evenly divided among mechanical skills, cooking, and office skills. A fourth of these men (4) found these skills useful in finding work.[1]

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[1]The precise number of men who had acquired skill in military service is not clear. It probably ranges from about a third to a half of those who served. This is because in two separate questions, respondents could state that they had acquired skills in military

TABLE 5

ADDITIONAL TRAINING
(In Percentages)

Source	Per Cent (N=64)
Military	19
Trade or vocational school	41
Job apprenticeship, OJT	16
Poverty program	3
Other	21
Total	100

Respondents were also asked whether they had been formally taught, or had picked up on their own, the necessary know-how to perform some 20 types of jobs. Table 6 presents their responses.

TABLE 6

WHAT JOBS RESPONDENTS CAN DO
(In Percentages)

Type of Job	Can Do (N=189)
Inside painting work.	89
Garden and yard maintenance	80
Outside painting work	67
Landscape work.	62
Pick and shovel work.	57
Truck driving on local deliveries	48
Carpentry	34
Truck driving between cities.	30
Road and pavement work with power equipment	30
Heavy truck driving, e.g., dump truck	28
Auto mechanical work.	25
Cement work	25
Operating heavy equipment, like cranes, winches, etc.	22
Brick laying.	16
Automobile body work.	16

service. Table 5 gives the responses for one question, and information in this paragraph from the other. While the questions were designed to be mutually exclusive, it is likely that there is some overlap.

The jobs more than half of the respondents can do--inside and outside painting, landscape work, garden and yard maintenance, pick and shovel work--are characterized by a low level of (mechanical) skill required. Most of the other jobs call for considerably more skill, and relatively few of the respondents can do these. Table 7 provides a convenient summary of the number of jobs these men can do.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF JOBS MEN CAN DO
(In Percentages)

Number of Jobs	Per Cent (N=189)
None	2
1 to 3	11
4 to 6	35
7 to 9	24
10 to 12	20
13 to 15	6
More than 15	2
Total	100

Finally, with regard to education, training, or acquired skills, we asked the respondents whether they had what might be termed "employment aids." These were shown by Wachtel to be associated with employment.[1] As Table 8 and Table 9 show, our respondents possess few of them. Later, we shall show to what extent job skills and employment aids are related to employment and employability.

[1]Howard M. Wachtel, "Hard Core Unemployment in Detroit: Causes and Remedies," Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting, Industrial Relations Research Association, no date.

TABLE 8

EMPLOYMENT AIDS
(In Percentages)

Employment Aids	Yes (N=189)
A driver's license	42
A car	25
A set of tools	24
A chauffer's license	13
An occupational license	9
A journeyman's cards	4
A truck	2

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF EMPLOYMENT AIDS
POSSESSED BY RESPONDENTS
(In Percentages)

Number of Aids	Per Cent (N=189)
None	46
One	21
Two	14
Three	10
Four or five	9
Total	100

In summarizing the material on education and training, one may say that these respondents have a limited range of education, of skills, and of training (although they are somewhat better educated than the average nonwhite male in the District). These limitations may seriously affect their chances for securing appropriate, decent and satisfying employment.

Marital Status and Family Background

About 50 per cent of the respondents are single, another 40 per cent are married and about 10 per cent are divorced or separated. About one in ten was married more than once. They marry young--their median age was 21.2 years. Over three fifths (62%) of the respondents have fathered children while only 50 per cent have ever married! About a third of the single interviewers admitted freely that they were fathers. About half of all the respondent-fathers became fathers before their 21st birthday.

A little more than half of the respondents stated that they had dependents to support: about 56 per cent of them listed wives and children as dependents, about a fourth named children only, six per cent gave parents, whereas wives were the dependents of another 5 per cent.

About 20 per cent of the men lived by themselves, 28 per cent lived with their wives and children, and 13 per cent shared quarters with their children. The rest lived in a variety of arrangements, some with parents, others with other relatives, and still others with friends. The average number of persons per household was four, which was .6 persons above the mean household size for nonwhites in 1960[1] in the District of Columbia!

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, District of Columbia. Final Report PC(1)-10C, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1962, pp. 10-33.

General background of their parental families.--The respondents were asked, if during the time they were growing up, that is between the ages of 6 and 16, they lived with their own father and mother most of the time. This was asked to determine the extent to which they grew up in a "normal" family structure, in which a real father, or perhaps a father substitute, was present so as to provide a "role model" for the males. Among our respondents 67 per cent lived with their own father and mother during that crucial period of growing maturity. While we have no exact comparable data for the District of Columbia, census data show that in 1960 66 per cent of nonwhite persons under 18 years of age were living with both parents.[1] The Census Bureau however includes among "children living with both parents" single stepchildren and adopted children as well as single sons and daughters born to the couple. An "own" child is defined as a "single (never married) son, daughter, stepchild, or adopted child of a married couple or a family head."[2] Obviously then the census figures include an unknown percentage of children living with stepparents, whereas our figures are for respondents who grew up with their real parents. If, for comparison, we combine respondents who grew up in families with their real parents and parent substitutes, the proportion goes up to about 76 per cent. This figure seems in line with the Census data. Thus, we have no reason to suspect that our respondents were worse off than the average D. C. Negro, as far as growing up in a parentless family is concerned.

Educational background of parents.--What was the educational background of the parents of the respondent? The median educational level

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[1] Ibid., pp. 10-33

[2] ibid., p. xviii.

for the fathers or father-substitutes was 9.7 years as compared to 9.4 for the nonwhite males in the District of Columbia. The median educational level of the mothers or mother-substitutes was 10.1 years which is .1 years below that for the nonwhite females in the District of Columbia.[1] So that in general the parental educational level compares quite favorably with that of the nonwhite population in the District of Columbia.

But now, how do the respondents compare educationally with their fathers or father-substitutes? Table 10 gives that information.

TABLE 10

EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT BY EDUCATION OF FATHER OR FATHER-SUBSTITUTE[a]
(Frequency Data)

Respondent's Education	Father or Father-Substitute's Education				Total
	Eighth Grade or Less	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some College	
Eighth grade or less	6	2	1	1	10
Some high school	26	17	10	4	57
High school graduate	3	5	11	4	23
Some college	2	-	1	3	6
Total	37	24	23	12	96

[a]About 25 per cent of the respondents did not know the educational level of their parents, and the "don't know's" are excluded from the computation. In addition if no real father or father-substitute existed, educational information was unavailable.

[1] Ibid., pp. 10-32.

The sons of fathers who had only a grammar school education or less have more education than their fathers. Four fifths of them have had schooling beyond the eighth grade. Sons of fathers who had some high school education have substantially similar educations, although about a fourth of these have completed high school. But the sons of fathers who were high school graduates or had gone to college, have not attained the level of their fathers' education. Only about half of the sons whose fathers completed high school have a similar education, and only a fourth of the sons of college-educated fathers have gone to college. So we see then that while the sons' education surpass their fathers' at the lower educational levels, at the higher educational levels the sons' formal education tends to be less than that of their fathers.

It is possible, however, that since half of the respondents are under 26 years of age, they may not have completed all their formal schooling. Some may go back to finish high school and eventually go on to college, so that these differences may be less in the future.

Thus, we see that the respondents have come from families whose educational attainments are somewhat higher than those for the nonwhite population in the District of Columbia. The data also show that in some respects the sons' educational level is inferior to that of their fathers, particularly at the high school and college level.

Parental work history.--What was the general work history of the parents or parent-substitutes of the respondents, and particularly that of the father during the time the respondents were growing up? What was his occupational level? Did he work consistently or sporadically? How does he compare occupationally to his son?

We see, first, that during the time the respondent was growing up, 91 per cent of the fathers or father-substitutes had full-time steady employment. This is an unexpectedly high figure. In addition, about half of the mothers worked outside the home most of the time. Of these 80 per cent worked in unskilled job categories, with domestic work being the most frequent occupation. The remaining fifth worked in white-collar occupations. Table 11 shows father's occupation as it relates to the occupation of their sons.

TABLE 11

OCCUPATION OF RESPONDENT BY OCCUPATION OF FATHER OR FATHER-SUBSTITUTE[a]
(Frequency Data)

Respondent's Occupation	Father's Occupation			Total
	White-Collar	Skilled and Semiskilled	Service and Laborer	
White-collar	2	1	1	4
Skilled and semiskilled	1	7	11	19
Service and laborers	9	22	67	98
Total	12	30	79	121

[a]Occupation for respondents is that for their present or last job held if presently unemployed. Only fathers and sons were compared if sufficient information was available.

In general about two thirds of the fathers worked in unskilled or service jobs. This is what one might expect considering the number who had only a grade school education. On the other hand, more of the fathers

were working in skilled and white-collar jobs than their sons, a probable reflection of the higher proportion of fathers who graduated from high school. For example, while twelve of the fathers had held white-collar jobs, this is true of only two of their sons. Nine of the sons (three fourths) were working in service and laborer jobs. While 30 fathers were skilled or semiskilled, only a fourth of their sons held such positions, while three fourths were service workers and laborers. Only sons of fathers who were service workers and laborers were relatively better off occupationally. About 14 per cent of these sons worked in skilled and semiskilled jobs, with the remainder in the service worker and laborer category.

Police Record

Two thirds of the respondents have been arrested or charged with breaking the law, and of those who were charged (126), almost nine tenths (112) were found guilty of the charge.

In summary, the data show that the respondents come from relatively stable families (and whose parents' education is at least equal to that of the nonwhite population, if not slightly better); and that their fathers' occupational and educational level is somewhat above their own. The data suggest a slight downward social mobility by respondents. We see also that most respondents had fathers or stepfathers who could provide a model of a consistent worker.

III. RESPONDENTS' LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

This section will explore in some detail the labor force participation of the respondents from January 1, 1965 to August 31, 1966, a period of twenty months.

Current Unemployment Rate

During the week preceding the interview one-fifth of the respondents were out of work and looking for a job. Two thirds were working (including three or four working less than 40 hours) the remaining thirteen per cent were out of the labor force. Thus, the unemployment rate of those in the labor force amounted to 22 per cent. But what is of equal interest is the extent to which the respondents moved back and forth between these three categories during the twenty month period of January 1965 - August 1966, as shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12

LABOR FORCE STATUS AT TIME OF INTERVIEW AND AT ANY TIME DURING PERIOD JANUARY 1, 1965 TO AUGUST 31, 1966
(Frequency Data)

At Time of Interview		At any Time during Period January 1, 1965 to August 31, 1966		
		Employed	Unemployed	Out of Labor Force
Employed	(N=128)	128	57	34
Unemployed	(N=36)	32	32	14
Out of labor force	(N=24)	15	8	19
Total	(N-188)	175	97	67

At one time or another during the preceding 20 months, all of those now employed (i.e., during the week prior to the interview) had experienced periods of employment, 45 per cent had interspersed periods of unemployment, and 27 per cent had been in and out of the labor force. Nine out of ten of these presently unemployed had been both employed and unemployed during the 20 months' period, while 39 per cent were intermittently out of the labor force during that time span. Even 65 per cent of those currently out of the labor force had worked sometimes during the study period; one third had experienced periods of unemployment and 80 per cent spent some time out of the labor force. For the group as a whole nine tenths show periods of employment, half show periods of unemployment, and about a third show time out of the labor force.

Total Labor Force Participation

How much time did the respondents spend in each of these labor force categories during those twenty months? Table 13 shows this in mean number of months. These figures do not necessarily represent individual periods, but are totals of times during the entire twenty months.

We see that if a person was employed at the time of interview he was more likely to have been employed longer during the twenty month period than either those unemployed or those out of the labor force, and correspondingly show less unemployment and periods out of the labor force than either of the remaining groups. If a person was unemployed at the time of interview he was more likely to have the most unemployment during the twenty month period, and if he was out of the labor force when interviewed, he was more likely to show the greatest amount of time out of the labor force during the study period. This suggests that these groups might have distinctive characteristics requiring further analysis.

TABLE 13

LABOR FORCE STATUS OF RESPONDENTS AT TIME OF INTERVIEW BY MEAN NUMBER OF MONTHS IN EACH LABOR FORCE CATEGORY, DURING PERIOD JANUARY 1, 1965 TO AUGUST 31, 1966

At Time of Interview	Labor Force Status			Total
	Employed	Unemployed	Out of Labor Force	
Employed	15.8	2.4	1.7	19.9[a]
Unemployed	10.4	6.3	3.4	20.1
Out of Labor Force	5.2	2.5	11.8	19.5
Total	13.4	3.2	3.3	19.9

[a]Slightly off from correct figure of 20 primarily because of rounding.

Table 13 also shows that the average respondent would have been employed about two thirds (13.4 months) of the twenty month period, unemployed about one sixth (3.2 months) of the time and out of the labor force for the remaining one sixth (3.3 months).

However, of those who show periods of unemployment, (about half of all respondents) the mean length of such unemployment is 5.9 months. About ten per cent of this group show periods of unemployment greater than a year. Of those who show periods of employment (about nine tenths of the respondents) the mean number of months worked is 14.4 months. Within this group are 58 respondents (about a third of all respondents) who worked for the entire twenty months. For the third of the respondents (67) that show periods out of the labor force, the mean length of such periods is 9.4 months. About 30 per cent of this group show periods out

Another way of looking at labor force participation during this twenty months' period is to consider what proportion of the total time available is divided into "employed status," "unemployed status," and "out of the labor force" status. During this period the total number of months available was 3,760.[1] The respondents spent about 17 per cent of this total time out of the labor force, and 16 per cent in an unemployed status, with the remainder in an employed status. Of the total time in the labor force, i.e., time employed and unemployed, unemployment accounts for about 20 per cent, close to their current unemployment rate. At a time of a tight labor market (as presumably now prevails in the District of Columbia) this is an unusually high percentage.

Let us now look briefly at those who had periods out of the labor force. What were the primary reasons for being out of the labor force? Table 14 provides that information.

TABLE 14

PRIMARY REASON FOR BEING OUT OF THE LABOR FORCE
(In Percentages)

Primary Reason	Per Cent (N=65)
In school	31
In jail	29
Sick	20
"Not looking for work"	9
In military service	8
Other	3
Total	100

[1]Based on 188 cases. No information available for one person.

Because of the relative youth of this population, the high proportion of respondents out of the labor force by virtue of going to school was not unexpected, nor was the proportion of people in jail. We were somewhat surprised at the low number of individuals who were out of the labor force because they were not longer looking for work. We had anticipated that we might uncover a substantial number of persons able to work .. but too dejected and disappointed by past failures to secure jobs to remain in the job market. However, it is apparent that the mere fact that these respondents took the trouble to complete a lengthy application form, shows they are still attached to the labor force. Later, we shall have more to say about this.

Time in Current Labor Force Status

How much time have the respondents spent in their current labor force status? We will limit our discussion to those who were currently employed or unemployed. Table 15 shows that those currently employed have been on their present job from less than a week to more than six years. The median number of months employed on the current job is 8.9 months.

TABLE 15

LENGTH OF TIME ON PRESENT JOB
(In Percentages)

Length of Time	Per Cent (N=128)
Less than one week	1
One week to two weeks	6
Two weeks to one month	6
One to three months	18
Four to six months	15
Six months to one year	29
One to three years	14
Four to six years	7
More than six years	4
Total	100

Table 16 shows how long those currently unemployed have been looking for work. Here again the range is great--from one week to several years--with a median of 1.3 months.

TABLE 16

LENGTH OF TIME LOOKING FOR WORK

Length of Time	Per Cent (N=37)
One week to two weeks	24
Two weeks to one month	22
One to three months	32
Four to six months	-
Six months to a year	19
One to three years	3
Total	100

Looking at the combined group of those presently employed, unemployed, and out of the labor force, the respondents averaged 2.1 jobs over the 20 months' period, ranging from zero to five or more jobs.

Occupation, and Industrial Attachment

During this twenty month period those who worked (N=175) were most often employed as service workers (43% mainly as janitors and porters) and somewhat less often as laborers (38%). Relatively few of the men worked in the higher skilled jobs: only 6 per cent worked in white collar jobs, ten per cent were employed as craftsmen or foremen, and the remainder were operatives (3%). Nine out of ten of the jobs were full-time.

The men (N=175) most often worked in retail trade (44%) followed by the construction industry (22%) and government (18%). The rest of the men worked in educational, health, and religious institutions (5%), in the transportation, communication and public utilities industries (5%), in real estate or the wholesale trade (6%).

Pay-Rate

The pay-rate ranged from less than $1.25 an hour to more than $3.00 an hour with a median pay-rate of $1.91 an hour or $76.00 a week. On a full time basis this corresponds to a yearly salary of $3952.00, not a munificant sum in the District of Columbia.

Reasons for Leaving Job

During our study period 111 men left their job at least once. For 35 per cent of the men their jobs ended and they were laid off. A third of the men left because they wanted a better job, or a job with more pay--not surprising considering the median pay-rate. Other reasons given for leaving were pretty evenly divided among the following: bad working conditions, job too far from home, illness or injury, disagreements with supervisors and others, fired or quit in anticipation of being fired, and went to jail.

Longest Job

While we have concentrated on the twenty months' period, we wished to get some notion of the degree to which the group had long term employment, and we asked them to give some information about their longest job. Duration of such jobs varied widely from less than three months to more

than nine years, with the median length of 2.1 years. Twenty per cent of the respondents had held jobs for six or more years. As one might suspect, however, considering the age distribution of the respondents there is a direct relationship between age and longest job ever held, that is, those who are older have had longer lasting jobs than those who are younger. As in the occupational distribution during the twenty month period, these men are concentrated in the service worker category (50%) and in the laborers' group (29%).

Similarly, the long term jobs were concentrated, in the retail trade industry, in government and in the construction industry. These three industries accounted for about 80 per cent of the respondents. The rest were scattered among many classes of institutions.

The pay-rate on "the longest job" ranged from less than $1.25 an hour to over $3.00 per hour, with a median of $1.64 an hour or about $65.60 per week--about $11.00 a week less than the median salary of the present job. It must be realized that these figures often include jobs respondents may have held years ago, since only 34 respondents were at the time of interview still on that "longest" job. (The median pay-rate for these is $1.98 an hour or about $79.00 somewhat higher than the pay-rate of all respondents in their present job or last job during the twenty month period.)

Best Job

We have seen that the respondents have had many jobs, but what do they consider the best job they have ever had? Occupationally, the best is no different from their other employments; service and laborers' jobs

account for about 80 per cent of the responses. As before, most frequently the "best jobs" were in the retail trade, with government in second place, followed by the construction industry a poor third, but as before these three industries account for about 80 per cent of the reports. The wages range from less than $1.25 to more than $3.00 an hour, but the median is now $1.86, somewhat lower than median pay for the present or last job held. (The median pay of those who are still working at this "best" job (N=52) is $2.06, or about $82.00 a week, higher than that for the group of respondents as a whole.)

The duration of the best job varied from less than three months to over nine years, but its median length was only 11 months.

Why was it their best job? For most, (29%) it meant that the pay was good; 28 per cent liked the good working conditions, and 12 per cent appreciated job security. Some said that the work was not physically or emotionally demanding (15%), while another 15 per cent unable to give a specific reason, "just liked it best." (These were followed by "can work independently" (6%), "chance to learn and to advance" (4%), "good fringe benefits" (4%).)

We have seen that during the twenty months' investigation period, the men show a rather unstable employment pattern, with relatively short periods of employment, sandwiched in between shorter periods of unemployment, and some periods out of the labor force. At the same time, a substantial number of these men have had relatively long continuous employment. But whether the employment be long or short, occupationally the respondents are concentrated in the unskilled occupations with relatively low rates of pay.

IV. IMPEDIMENTS TO EMPLOYMENT

We now turn to an examination of some of the factors which may have contributed to the employability of the respondents. We wished to obtain information related to respondents' perception of the difficulties in securing employment. Two techniques were used: in the first procedure, the respondent was shown a list of reasons that had "kept others from getting a job," and asked which of these reasons applied to him. Table 17 shows their responses.

TABLE 17

REASONS FOR NOT GETTING A JOB
(In Percentages)

Reasons	Applies In My Case
Lack of experience	43
Lack of education	37
Lack of skills	34
Discrimination	32
Asking for more money than employer is willing to pay	27
Too young	18
Having no personal influence	16
Failing to make a good impression	9
Too old	6

About ten per cent of the respondents spontaneously mentioned their police record as a bar to their getting a job. Perhaps if this reason had been asked about directly, a high proportion of them would have answered "yes." Later in this section we shall explore the role of the police record in obtaining employment.

The respondent was then asked to select from the list the reason which most frequently prevented him from getting a job; Table 18 shows the rank order of reasons selected.

TABLE 18

MOST FREQUENT REASON FOR NOT GETTING A JOB

Rank	Reasons
1	Lack of education
2	Lack of experience
3	Discrimination
4	Asking for more money than employer is willing to pay
5	Too young
6	Lack of skills
7	Having no personal influence
8	Too old
9	Failing to make a good impression

It is clear that the respondents see lack of education and of experience as hampering their employment prospects. "Lack of skills" ranked third in terms of the proportion of respondents who said it applied in their own case (34%), but came in sixth when the respondent's choice of impeding reasons was restricted to one only.

Another way in which we sought to gain insight into the respondents' perception of employment handicaps was to have the respondents indicate whether--in their opinion--a certain personal characteristic would affect an applicant's chances. The dimensions explored, as shown in Table 19, were: age, race, education, police record, employment status, possession of aids.

TABLE 19

WHO MAY ENCOUNTER DIFFICULTIES IN SECURING EMPLOYMENT
(In Per Cent Saying "More Difficult to Get Job")

Characteristics	Per Cent (N=189)
Age	
Man of 35	11
Man of 50	78
No difference	11
Man of 20	37
Man of 35	34
No difference	29
Race	
Negro man	78
White man	8
No difference	14
Education	
With high school diploma	7
Without one	86
No difference	7
Can read or write	9
Cannot	88
No difference	3
Police Record	
Has police record for disorderly conduct	82
Without record	10
No difference	8
Has police record for assault	73
Has record for disorderly conduct	12
No difference	15
Employment Status	
Never unemployed	22
Often unemployed	58
No difference	20
Never held job for very long time	71
Stayed on one job for long time	9
No difference	20
Employment aids	
Has tools	5
Has none	50
No difference	45
Has drivers license	6
Has none	59
No difference	35
Owns a car or truck	5
Does not	59
No difference	36

Once again the respondents point to lack of education as a major handicap in seeking employment. A police record is seen as a real hurdle in getting work, as is racial discrimination. While discrimination looms rather large in respondents' perception, a number of men spontaneously remarked that discrimination is becoming less of a problem in the Washington area, and is of lesser significance here than in other parts of the country. Age appears to matter only when a person is 50 years of age or more, the older person having a disadvantage. A man having a history of short periods of employment will be handicapped, as compared to one who has had steady long term employment. Possession of employment aids affects a man's chances to a lesser degree than the other variables cited above.

We have dealt with a number of factors which, according to our respondents, influence a man's ability to obtain employment. The question may be raised whether the same variables affect not only a man's chances of landing a job but also his probability of remaining employed. We shall therefore relate some of these factors to the interviewees' 20 months' employment record, as measured by the number of months worked during that period.

We see then, as Table 20 shows, that age, the number of jobs the men can do, and their possession of employment aids are most highly associated with length of employment. The youngest respondents, and those with the fewest skills or employment aids have the most severe handicaps in gaining and keeping employment. Formal education, ranked by the respondents as the most frequent reason for not getting a job, appears to make little difference in length of employment. Pricing oneself out of the

TABLE 20

FACTORS RELATING TO EMPLOYMENT BY MEAN NUMBER OF MONTHS WORKED DURING PERIOD JANUARY 1, 1965 TO AUGUST 31, 1966

Factors	Mean Number of Months Worked
Age	
Under 21	10.8 ± 6.4
21 - 25	12.8 ± 6.1
26 - 35	14.4 ± 6.9
36 - 45	15.6 ± 5.6
46 and over	16.2 ± 5.3
Education	
Eighth grade or less	13.6 ± 6.7
Some high school	13.0 ± 6.1
High school graduate	14.5 ± 6.8
Number of Jobs Men Can Do	
Six or less	11.8 ± 6.5
Seven or more	15.0 ± 5.6
Number of Employment Aids Possessed	
None	11.3 ± 6.7
One or more	15.1 ± 5.6
Police Record	
Yes	13.3 ± 6.4
No	13.9 ± 6.9
Pricing Oneself Out of Job Market	
Specifying a minimum wage	13.6 ± 6.3
Not specifying a minimum wage	13.4 ± 6.9

job market--ranked fourth by the respondents as a reason for not getting a job--was not a factor in length of employment. (One might assume that if a person is willing to work for whatever wage is offered to him he would have less difficulty in finding work and remaining on the job than one who has some set figure in mind.) Surprisingly, the possession of a police

record had little effect upon the number of months worked, in spite of the fact that three fourths of the respondents believed that Washington employers try to keep from hiring men with police records. However, at the time of interview more of those unemployed had police records (four fifths) than did those employed (two thirds) or out of the labor force (two thirds).

The data in Table 20 suggest that the possession of skills is an important factor in employment. While age is also of crucial importance, it is likely that as one grows older one acquires some skill and experience which can be marketed. Multi-variate analysis could clarify the relationships between these variables, For example, it is likely that if one is under 25, has a police record, is a high school drop out, and has knowledge of few skills, his employment record will be worse than one who is the same age, does not have a police record, is a high school graduate, and has knowledge of many skills. Budgetary limitations both of time and money, however, prevent such analyses at this time.

Job Searching Behavior

It stands to reason that a man's chances of getting a job rise and fall with his efficiency in looking for one. Table 21 shows in what ways respondents looked for work most frequently. The first three techniques are mentioned with almost equal frequency, (by about 70% of the respondents). The others are of much lesser importance ranging from a frequency of about 50 per cent for the U. S. Employment Service to 19 per cent for the item "waits to be called back to former job." But the respondents do not only have one particular way of seeking work. They use a variety of these, a median of three.

TABLE 21

WAYS RESPONDENTS LOOKED FOR WORK
IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

Rank	Item
1	Checks newspaper ads
2	Asks around among friends and relatives
3	Goes to employers to see if they are hiring
4	Goes to U. S. Employment Service
5	Goes to private employment agency
6	Waits at pick-up points around the city for a day's work
7	Waits to be called back to former job

Is there any connection between the number of techniques a person uses in looking for work and ease with which he finds employment? One would suspect that if a person uses more techniques in his search for work he would be more successful than one who uses fewer. Such persons should have shorter periods of unemployment when out of work, and consequently lengthier periods of employment. The data show no differences; for those who use four or more techniques, (the median is three) the mean number of months worked during the twenty month period is 13.6 as compared to 13.5 for those who used three or fewer techniques. It is possible, however, that the number of techniques used in looking for work is related more

to a specific period of unemployment. That is, the more efficiently a person looks for work when he is unemployed, the shorter is a specific period of unemployment. However, our data does not permit us to examine this point.

What did the respondents think was the best way for a man to go about finding work if he could try any way that occurred to him? They suggested a number of approaches which are listed in Table 22.

TABLE 22

BEST WAY TO FIND A JOB IN RANK ORDER OF FREQUENCY

Rank	Item
1	Direct personal solicitation of employers
2	Go to public or quasi-public employment agencies like United Planning Organization or United States Employment Service
3	Read advertisements and then go directly to employers or make arrangements for personal interviews
4	Ask around among friends, relatives and associates for job possibilities or job help
5	Try a variety of things (read ads, ask around among friends, go directly to employers, etc.
6	Fill out applications for employment in large establishments or file for governmental civil service positions
7	Go to pick-up points for laboring and other jobs.

We have presented material on the job searching techniques used by the respondents and on the technique they consider best. But now how

did the respondents find their present or last job? Does the way they go about it correspond to what they say they do? Table 23 presents the way they found their present or last job.

TABLE 23

RANK ORDER LIST OF WAYS RESPONDENTS FOUND THEIR PRESENT OR LAST JOB

Rank	Item
1	Referred by friends, relatives, others
2	Through the United Planning Organization
3	Through governmental agencies--U. S. Employment Service, Civil Service Commission Vocational Rehabilitation, etc.
4	Direct personal solicitation of employers
5	Through newspaper advertisements
6	Private employment agencies
7	Hired at pick-up points
8	Rehired by former employer

It is interesting to note that while the respondents state that direct solicitation of employers is the best way to find a job, for most respondents (27%) the present or last job was gotten as a result of referral by friends and relatives. While reading the newspaper is a job searching technique for most of the respondents, (69%) it was of relative insignificance as far as aiding the respondents in securing their present or last job. It should also be noted that while the United Planning Organization ranks second, this is probably an exceptional event. The

33 people who stated they obtained their present job through UPO have received Federal jobs as manual laborers through that organization's recruiting efforts.

Industrial Attachment

Another factor which may affect employment is the industry in which the respondent works. Some industries, construction for example, work by the job; when the job is completed men are laid off and compelled to seek other positions. Other industries, like government, are noted for their relatively stable work force. We have seen that the respondents during the twenty month period were concentrated in three industries--retail trade, construction, and government--in that order. Did industrial attachment during this period show any relationship to length of employment? The answer is "very little." The mean number of months worked for those in construction, retail trade, and government is 13.8, 14.7, and 13.8 respectively. However, more of those in retail trade (43%) worked for the entire twenty months than those in construction (35%) or government (32%). The figure for those in construction is somewhat higher than expected, due primarily to a rather vigorous building boom during the twenty months' period prior to the interview.

Motivation

Finally, a person's state of mind--whether he is optimistic about the future or pessimistic--may affect his chances for employment. If one is discouraged because of past failure to obtain work, one is not so likely to put forth the effort to find work. Our data show however that the respondents have not given up the search for work. Indeed, they show

a strong attachment to the labor force. The respondents can best be characterized as optimistic about their chances for employment, as can be inferred from the following facts.

First, while about 20 per cent of the interviewees were out of work at the time of interview, only eight of these 36 men were unemployed for as long as six months, and the median number of months of that current unemployment was only 1.3. In addition, nine out of ten of those currently unemployed had periods of employment during the twenty month study period.

Second, the mere fact that the respondents were willing to apply for jobs as manual laborers with the Federal government, and to comply with the sometimes tedious bureaucratic requirements involved in obtaining such positions is an indication of their willingness to work.

Finally, their optimism can be shown by their response to the following questions. The respondents were asked to specify three characteristics in a job that were important to them (see Table 24) and then to estimate their chances for getting such a job. Eighty per cent thought it was likely that they would get such a job; only 20 per cent thought otherwise. Those who thought it likely felt that way because (1) they already had a job like that, (2) they had the right personal qualifications such as education, good health, etc., (3) they felt generally optimistic--"things were changing for the best," or (4) the government had created agencies to combat discriminatory practices. Those who thought it unlikely they would get such a job stated that this was because (1) of their police record (2) of their lack of personal qualifications, such as poor education and poor health, and (3) of a general feeling of pesssimism.

TABLE 24

RANK ORDER OF IMPORTANT JOB CHARACTERISTICS

Rank	Item
1	Decent salary to support my family or self
2	Proper working conditions--good hours, safe work, etc.
3	Job security--steady work, fringe benefits
4	Type of work
5	Good chance for advancement
6	Employer who treats you with respect
6	Location of job
8	Adequate public transportation to and from work
9	Congenial fellow workers
10	No discrimination

V. COPING WITH UNEMPLOYMENT

We have seen that the Group as a whole averaged 3.2 months of unemployment during the twenty month period, and that those currently unemployed were out of work an average of 1.3 months. Any period of unemployment for these men, considering their relatively low salary, creates some financial hardship. How do these men cope with the financial problems associated with unemployment? Table 25 indicates some of the ways they manage. Relatives are used the most as a source of support when these men are unemployed, a not uncommon practice among low income families. Community institutions are used the least, e.g. only 32 per cent stated they received compensation from the unemployment compensation system.

TABLE 25

HOW RESPONDENTS COPE WITH UNEMPLOYMENT

Item	Per Cent Saying "Yes" (N=189)
Gets help from relatives	54
The wife takes a job	47[a]
Does a little "hustling on the side"[b]	44
Finds day laboring work	42
Goes on unemployment compensation	32
Borrows money, mainly from parents, relatives or friends	29
Takes out savings	26
Moves in with someone, mainly relatives	17
Lets bills pile up	15
Goes on welfare	2
Gets help from private places, like salvation army or church	2

[a]This per cent is based only on those who now have or who had wives. (N=80) It is not always clear that the wife went to work only when her husband was out of work. A large percentage of the wives work all the time.

[b]"Hustling on the side" has two meanings. The first has reference to illegal or quasi-legal activities, like "running numbers," selling bootleg liquor, delivering narcotics, etc. The other is any kind of legal activity that a person engages in to supplement his regular income. In this instance, it may be used in both senses, although we believe most respondents have used it in the first sense.

VI. THE UNITED PLANNING ORGANIZATION AND THE RESPONDENTS

Finally, a few words need to be said about the respondents and and their relation to the United Planning Organization. How many persons would have completed applications if not for UPO's recruiting program is unknown, but probably the total would have been less than the approximately 1,000 that did sign up. And as a result of that effort, about 18 per cent of our respondents went to work for the Government. If we extend the results of our sample to the population from which our respondents were drawn then about 180 persons have received positions.

But it is also interesting to note that only 70 per cent of the respondents stated they had any contact with UPO, in spite of the fact that all were recruited through UPO's efforts. However most of the recruitment was done in the Neighborhood Development Centers, which respondents may not have identified as part of UPO. Of those who admitted contact with UPO, a little more than half stated that they filled out the application at the UPO office. About a fourth stated that UPO got a job for them, but it was not clear from the responses whether it was their present job or some other job in the past. About ten per cent had some counselling contact, about six per cent work or worked for UPO, and about five per cent had been in a UPO sponsored work training program.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

UPO assumed that its recruitment drive to secure applicants for the manual labor jobs was directed toward the "hard core unemployed." The Office of Economic Opportunity believed also that the applicants were members of that class of unemployed. However, the data have shown that these respondents cannot be so conceived, if by the term "hard core unemployed" is meant those who show a history of long term unemployment. On the contrary, this group of respondents has shown a positive and strong attachment to the labor force. A third of all the respondents (58) worked continuously for the 20 month investigation period and all but 13 had some employment during that time. But the group as a whole also showed substantial amounts of unemployment. Twenty two per cent of the respondents were out of work at the time of interview, and a fifth of the entire twenty month period was unemployed time. This unemployment however was of an intermittent nature, being of relatively short duration, and sandwiched in between periods of employment, also of relatively short duration. Nevertheless, such an amount of unemployment at a time when a "tight labor market" presumably existed in the Washington area is excessive. Rather than being called "hard core unemployed" this group can best be characterized as "under-employed."

While the personal, educational, and family background of these respondents is somewhat higher than expected, educationally and occupationally, they are somewhat below the level of their fathers, suggesting

some downward social mobility. The group as a whole was optimistic about their future employment prospects, but objectively, they face an uncertain future. Their limited formal education, the stigma of the police record, and their lack of marketable skills restrict them to low level positions with low wages and with uncertain tenure.

It is clear that if the respondents wish to provide themselves with safeguards against periodic unemployment and low salaries, they must acquire some skills through education and training. The data show that the skilled have a better work record. But we have seen that the respondents have not taken advantage of training opportunities presumably available to them through the various poverty programs. Few respondents know that such programs existed, and of those that did few were enrolled. So there is both a problem of informing groups of people like the respondents that programs are available, and convincing them that by taking such training their prospects for rewarding and satisfying employment will be vastly improved.